

# Internationalising the psychology curriculum: Preliminary notes on conception and assessment of anticipated benefits

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*Advocates for internationalisation of the undergraduate psychology curriculum anticipate a variety of beneficial outcomes strongly associated with forms of intellectual growth – including critical thinking, appreciation for diversity, and global awareness – that are the defining purpose of a university education. As a prelude to an intervention to internationalise an introductory psychology course, we examined relationships between measures of these anticipated benefits in an online survey of 107 undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory psychology course at a public research university in the US. Results indicated moderately strong relationships among measures of anticipated benefits of internationalisation but little relationship with conventional measures of academic performance. These results raise doubts about any necessary connection between anticipated benefits of internationalisation and conventional understandings of educational success. Accordingly, results motivate greater reflection among both proponents of internationalisation and psychologists in general about the learning outcomes that inform conventional approaches to undergraduate education in psychology.*

**Keywords:** Internationalisation; psychology education; global awareness; diversity; critical thinking; critical consciousness.

A PREVAILING neoliberal individualist model portrays education as a private good designed for consumption of entrepreneurial students who seek to develop skills to better compete in the global marketplace (see Tomlinson & Lipsitz, 2013). As a reaction to this model, educators across the US have returned with renewed urgency to questions about the objectives of undergraduate education. Organisations as diverse as the Association of American Universities (AAU) and the American Psychological Association (APA) have emphasised that the purpose of undergraduate education is not simply to provide students with the latest information in a particular discipline or to credential students for participation in the global marketplace. Instead, they have re-emphasised that the broader public purpose or societal objective of undergraduate education is to produce critically thinking, socially

responsible, civically engaged, multicultural citizens who will constitute and lead the societies of tomorrow.

Within this broader trend, critics have noted that the undergraduate psychology curriculum in US universities is particularly ripe for internationalisation given the US-centric character of the field (e.g. Arnett, 2008), frustration with decontextualised exportation of Western psychology (see Henrich, Heine & Norenzayan, 2010), and a lack of diversity in methodology and content in US journals (Bikos et al., 2013). In this intellectual climate, we have designed and hope to implement an intervention to internationalise an introductory undergraduate psychology course at our host institution. As a prelude to this intervention exercise, we here consider learning objectives and measures that we might use to evaluate progress toward them.

### **Internationalisation: What is it?**

To assess the extent to which internationalisation of the curriculum serves broad institutional learning goals, one must first define *internationalisation*. Beyond general agreement about its desirability, conceptions of internationalisation vary.

One tension in imagination of internationalisation concerns perspectives on the mainstream or hegemonic versions of psychology that emanate from (typically Euro-American) centres of global power. For some, internationalisation is about elevating hegemonic understandings to a position of global dominance, resulting in a unitary global psychology. For others, internationalisation is less about oneness or universality of particular understandings, but more about achieving 'harmonisation' and 'balance' within a globally relevant science by engaging psychological understandings throughout the world (Bullock, 2014; Galinova, 2015; Turner & Robson, 2008). For many advocates, internationalisation is compatible with perspectives of cross-cultural psychology that aim to broaden the database and applicability of hegemonic psychology by considering a broader variety of different societies around the world (van de Vijver, 2013). While it remains doubtful whether internationalisation is the same as cross-cultural psychology or whether it can be entirely separated from globalisation (Gross et al., 2016; Turner & Robson, 2008), the general consensus on the definition of internationalisation is that it fosters a broader variety of perspectives in psychology. Accordingly, we define internationalisation as open, inclusive, reciprocal, and critical engagement with the diversity of the global community, toward the transformation of knowledge and praxis in psychology.

Within the APA, an issue of ongoing debate is whether the objective of internationalisation efforts should be '...internationalisation of the psychology curriculum or the creation of a transnational curriculum in psychology or both' (Belar, 2008). This debate centres on the degree to which

academic units should pursue and incorporate internationalisation into psychology education. In 2005, the APA outlined five general areas of psychology education that would benefit from internationalisation: (1) psychological knowledge; (2) methodological issues; (3) discipline of psychology (theories and concepts); (4) interpersonal understanding; and (5) global issues (Lutsky et al., 2005). Consistent with this conception of the benefits of internationalisation in terms of knowledge acquisition, the APA in 2007 included sociocultural and international awareness as a separate goal of the undergraduate psychology major.

A potential shift in conception was arguably evident in 2013, when the APA not only incorporated internationalisation into its *Guidelines for the Undergraduate Psychology Major* under goal 3: 'Ethical and Social Responsibility in a Diverse World' but also adopted an 'infusion' approach. Infusion approaches position internationalisation not as a separate segment of the curriculum, but instead as an inherently pertinent concept infused throughout the entire curriculum. The goal of this approach is to help students 'adopt values that build community at local, national, and global levels'; to develop 'sensitivity to issues of power, privilege, and discrimination'; to ponder 'strategies to facilitate social change and diminish discriminatory practices'; and to 'acknowledge that measurement of socially responsible behaviour outside of the classroom is a challenge' (APA, 2013).

### **Anticipated benefits of Internationalisation**

These different conceptions of and approaches to internationalisation suggest myriad understandings of anticipated benefits that internationalisation might produce. Some writers suggest that internationalisation of psychology will strengthen psychological knowledge and deepen understandings of diversity (Bullock, 2014). Other writers suggest that internationalisation will fulfill moral, intellectual, and professional impera-

tives to make psychology a better science and a more adaptive practice (van de Vijver, 2013).

In a rare, qualitative study about the benefits of internationalisation (Bikos et al., 2013), instructors of undergraduate psychology in the US cited facilitation of global perspectives, recognition of the impact of cultural contexts, increased cross cultural awareness, better understanding of others through critical thinking skills, value for global citizenship, and openness to difference as anticipated benefits. Quantitative research indicates that internationalisation of the undergraduate curriculum is positively linked to students' development of intercultural skills over time (Soria, 2015; Pedersen, 2016). Some scholars propose that in the context of internationalisation, fostering intercultural development is of greater benefit than cross-cultural learning or even multicultural education, since the term intercultural emphasises 'overcoming cultural isolation and promoting a mutually enriching understanding, dialogue and ideas exchange between different cultures, [to convey] more fully the value of diversity in education' (Galinova, 2015). Informed by these articulations and our own theorising, we identified the following as anticipated benefits or learning objectives to guide and assess attempts to internationalise psychology education.

### **Global awareness and identification**

Perhaps the most obvious outcome that one might anticipate from efforts to internationalise the curriculum is global awareness or identification. At a basic level, global awareness refers to knowledge about global realities, regardless of the interpretations or conclusions that one draws about that knowledge (Galinova, 2015). However, proponents of internationalisation typically intend (or assume) that knowledge of global realities will stimulate particular kinds of awareness. For example, one might expect that internationalisation of the psychology curriculum would expose students to information

concerning ways of thinking and living about which they were previously unaware. To the extent that this exposure includes information about situations of deprivation and poverty, one might further expect that internationalisation of the curriculum would lead students to develop more nuanced or critical perceptions of global inequality. Whether exposure to information about global realities produces these effects is an open empirical question.

Another outcome that proponents anticipate from global awareness is global identification. Scholars suggest that one of the most important psychological consequences of engagement with forces of globalisation is the experience of a hybrid bicultural identity that represents the fusion of both local identity and global identity factors (Arnett, 2002). The resulting identity dynamics can be complex and fraught with tension. On one hand, global identification can balance or neutralise nationalistic sentiments that might otherwise work in an antagonistic fashion against global peace and security. On the other hand, people can respond to the identity confusion of global engagement with identity-defensive reactance, reproducing more rigid and conservative varieties of local identity (Arnett, 2002; Doku & Asante, 2011). This research suggests that information about global realities may not necessarily lead to greater global identification.

### **Appreciation for diversity**

Another benefit that advocates of internationalisation frequently cite is appreciation for diversity (Bikos et al., 2013; Bullock, 2014; van de Vijver, 2013). Again, by exposing students to variation in ways of thinking and living across societies, efforts to internationalise the psychological curriculum are likely to increase students' appreciation for the *extent* of diversity: that is, recognition of the degree to which patterns of thinking and being deviate from the ethnocentric norm or standard of their own society. However, one again suspects that proponents of internationalisation typically anticipate a deeper

sense of appreciation for diversity in terms of *value or enjoyment*. Whereas many people would advocate the former sense of appreciation for the extent of diversity as a legitimate learning goal, some people might question whether promotion of the latter sense of enjoyment of diversity is the appropriate business of psychology instruction.

### Critical thinking

Of all the anticipated benefits, perhaps the one that has the most legitimacy for instructors as a goal of internationalisation efforts is critical thinking. Indeed, most arguments for internationalizing the curriculum include some version of the idea that the study of diverse ways of being provides an epistemic standpoint from which to think more critically about the apparently ‘natural’ manifestations of one’s own experience (Adams et al., 2015; Bohman, 2006). Indeed, some research suggests that diversity experiences in the classroom are positively, but conditionally, related to critical thinking (Gurin, Nagda & Lopez, 2003; Loes, Pascarella & Umbach, 2012). Although evidence suggests that experience with cultural diversity has a positive impact on the educational experiences of all college students, the impact appears to be particularly strong among groups of students in positions of social and economic power (Gurin, Nagda & Lopez, 2003; Loes, Pascarella & Umbach, 2012). Diversity is important for encouraging balanced perspectives on issues (Milem, 2003), especially when it provides an opportunity for the expression of marginalised or disempowered voices that would otherwise be silenced in mainstream undergraduate psychology classrooms.

Is there any evidence that internationalisation of the psychology curriculum promotes critical thinking? Although we are not aware of any evidence that speaks to this question, the answer might depend on one’s conception and operationalisation of *critical thinking*. If our home university is any indication, then conceptions of critical thinking in most undergraduate psychology

courses may primarily concern quantitative literacy and evaluation of evidence from empirical research. When instructors define or operationalise critical thinking, they tend to emphasise such ideas as ‘correlation does not equal causation’ or ‘the plural of anecdote is not data’. It is not immediately clear whether – or by what mechanism – appreciation for diversity or internationalisation of the psychology curriculum would result in greater quantitative literacy of this sort.

### Critical consciousness

In contrast to constructions of critical thinking that might focus primarily (or exclusively) on quantitative literacy, one construction of critical thinking that has a more direct link to appreciation of diversity is *critical consciousness* (or conscientização; Freire, 1970). Critical consciousness refers to both (1) a reflexive awareness of the extent to which existing social practices and institutions arise and persist because they reproduce and maintain the enjoyment of a privileged few at the expense of the global majority; and (2) an orientation toward action to challenge social inequalities (see Diemer et al., 2014; Watts, Diemer & Voight, 2011). Research in the perspective of critical multicultural citizenship education (CMCE) has linked critical consciousness to appreciation for diversity in the global context (Ramirez, Salinas & Epstein, 2016).

### Current study

Especially given that the anticipated benefits of internationalisation include many of the outcomes – critical thinking, appreciation of diversity, and the social responsibility associated with critical consciousness – that the APA and AAU have proposed as learning goals for undergraduate curriculum, one might expect that the internationalisation of the undergraduate psychology curriculum will be implicitly linked to the enhanced student performance. However, our review of the literature revealed little to no research that explicitly measured anticipated benefits

of internationalisation and assessed their relationship with each other and with undergraduate psychology students' performance. As a preliminary exploration of these relationships, we conducted a survey study.

The context of the survey study was an introductory psychology course at our home institution. It is important to emphasise that the instructors of the course made no attempt to internationalise their presentation of material. In the absence of any special effort, the course included very little international content. Similarly, we did not conduct any intervention to internationalise the course. Accordingly, the purpose of this exercise was not to assess the effectiveness of an effort at internationalising the curriculum. Instead, the purpose was to explore (the relationship between) measures of anticipated outcomes of internationalisation as a prelude to, but in the absence of, any intervention to internationalise the curriculum.

## Method

### Sample

Participants were 107 students enrolled in an introductory psychology course during a single semester. Eleven participants withdrew from the study (and permission to analyze their responses) after debriefing, resulting in a final sample of 96 students (57 women, 39 men). The sample comprised mainly European Americans (81.2 per cent) with other participants identifying as African American (7.3 per cent), Hispanic Americans (7.3 per cent), Asian-American (2.1 per cent), and Mixed (2.1 per cent). The sample comprised mainly first-year students ( $N=63$ ), but also included students in their third year ( $N=17$ ) and beyond ( $N=14$ ).

### Procedures

We recruited students for a 30-minute online survey through a research participant recruitment system called Sona. Sona systems offer a cloud-based solution for research participant management that facilitates the recruitment process by allowing researchers to anonymously recruit participants from large

pools of undergraduate students within the university. Participants received research credit in return for their participation. The survey was available to participants online for three weeks during the first half of the semester (Time 1) and again for three weeks during the latter half of the semester (Time 2). None of the participants who enrolled at Time 1 ( $N=63$ ) enrolled again at Time 2 ( $N=43$ ).

### Measures

We included measures of the hypothesised benefits of internationalisation in psychology education and more traditional course outcomes.

*Global awareness and identification.* Participants used a seven-point scale (0=not at all to 6=very much) to respond to five items that measured identification with the world community (e.g. 'Being part of the world community is an important part of my identity'; Cronbach's  $\alpha=.86$ ). Participants used a seven-point scale (0=not at all to 6=very much) to respond to four items that we created to measure perceptions of global inequality (e.g. 'Current global realities reflect a natural and inevitable process of progress and development' Cronbach's  $\alpha=.64$ ).

*Diversity appreciation.* We selected seven items from the Openness to Diversity and Challenge Scale from the Center of Inquiry in the Liberal Arts at Wabash College (2006) to assess awareness and appreciation of diversity (e.g. 'Learning about people from different cultures is a very important part of my college education'; Cronbach's  $\alpha=.87$ ). Participants used a five-point scale (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) to respond to each of the seven items.

*Critical thinking.* We adapted brief assessments to measure critical thinking about interpretation of evidence from a measure that our collaborators in the Cultural Psychology Research Group had developed for an earlier project (Mukherjee, Kurtiş &

Adams, 2016). The inspiration and model for these assessments was work by the Stanford History Education Group (see <http://beyondthebubble.stanford.edu/>). Participants read two statements in a debate about the relationship between low SES and divorce. After each debate statement, we presented participants with a range of nine responses in support or critique of the statement that varied in the degree of critical thinking (see Appendix 1). Participants used a scale from one to five to rate their agreement with each response. Three of these responses provided the soundest evidence of critical thinking, including the idea that correlation does not equal causation, the importance of construct validity, and limitations of using anecdotes as evidence. We computed a composite average of mean ratings for the three critical responses and reverse-coded other responses to create an indicator of critical thinking (Cronbach's  $\alpha=.64$ ).

*Critical consciousness.* We considered two aspects of critical consciousness – critical reflection and critical action – using an empirically tested measure of critical consciousness (Diemer et al., 2014). Regarding critical reflection, participants used a five-point scale (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) to respond to 13 items regarding critical consciousness about gender, class, and racial inequality (e.g. 'Certain racial groups have fewer chances to get a good high school education;' Cronbach's  $\alpha=.90$ ). Regarding critical action, participants used a five-point scale (0=never did this to 4=at least once a week) to indicate their civic engagement and participation in social justice activities. (e.g. 'Wrote a letter to a school or community newspaper or publication about a social or political issue' Cronbach's  $\alpha=.90$ ).

*Academic Performance.* We did not have access to course grades or instructor assessments of course performance, so we relied on participants to self-report. Participants who completed measures at the end of semester

indicated their engagement in the course by reporting the percentage of classes that they attended and the percentage of course assignments that they completed. They also indicated their expected course grades, which we transformed into a numerical scale from 1=F to 10=A.

*Demographic Information.* Participants indicated their gender, ethnicity, and year in college. They also indicated their socioeconomic status (SES) using the McArthur Scale of subjective social status. This measure asks participants to rank themselves on a hypothetical social ladder with 10 rungs with 1 as the lowest position and 10 as the highest (Demakakos et al., 2008).

## Results

### *Differences between Sample Groups*

As a first step in analysis of data, we conducted independent sample t-tests to determine whether there were mean differences between groups who completed the survey at different waves of administration: early or late in the semester (see Table 1). Because the course design did not include international material, the purpose of this comparison was not to assess the effectiveness of the course as an internationalisation exercise. Instead, we examined differences between groups as a matter of methodological rigor.

Results showed that students who completed measures during the second half of the semester scored significantly higher on critical consciousness – both critical reflection ( $M=3.63$ ,  $SD=0.65$ ) and critical action ( $M=1.98$ ,  $SD=0.88$ ) – than did students who completed measures during the first half of the semester ( $M_s=3.30$  and  $0.84$ ,  $SD_s=1.54$  and  $0.67$ ),  $t(94)=-2.067$ ,  $p<.05$ ,  $d=0.43$ , and  $t(67)=-2.641$ ,  $p<.05$ ,  $d=0.58$  respectively. Although this is consistent with the possibility that participation in the introductory psychology course afforded critical consciousness, it is not possible to make a definitive determination of that effect because these

**Table 1: Comparison of means and standard deviations by sample group**

Scale/Item	Time of data collection			
	Group 1 (N=57)		Group 2 (N=39)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Global Identity	2.62	0.95	2.99	1.16
Perceptions of Global Inequality	2.97	0.92	3.21	0.94
Diversity Appreciation	3.64	0.66	3.92	0.83
Critical Consciousness Reflection	3.30	0.84	3.63*	0.65
Critical Consciousness Action	1.54	0.67	1.98*	0.88
Critical Thinking	3.18	0.35	3.12	0.27
Subjective SES	5.12	1.56	6.05*	1.88

\* $p < .05$

**Table 2: Correlations among measures of anticipated benefits of internationalisation and subjective SES**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Global Identity	-						
Perceptions of Global Inequality	.22*	-					
Diversity Appreciation	.20*	.45**	-				
Critical Consciousness Reflection	-.02	.38**	.41**	-			
Critical Consciousness Action	.35**	.16	.14	.29**	-		
Critical Thinking	-.12	-.23*	.01	-.09	-.23*	-	
Subjective SES	-.01	.15	.06	.21*	.10	.09	-
M (SD)	2.77 (1.05)	3.07 (0.93)	3.76 (0.74)	3.43 (0.78)	1.72 (0.78)	3.43 (0.32)	5.50 (1.75)
$\alpha$ s	.86	.64	.87	.90	.90	.64	n/a

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

**Table 3: Correlations between measures of anticipated benefits of internationalisation with academic performance indicators for group 2 (N=39)**

	Expected Grade	Class Attendance	Completed Assignments
Global Identity	-.03	-.14	-.17
Perceptions of Global Inequality	.06	.06	-.27
Diversity Appreciation	.32*	-.09	-.20
Critical Consciousness	.19	.22	.19
Critical Activism	-.21	-.08	.09
Critical Thinking	.04	.14	.10
Subjective SES	-.04	.12	.19
M (s)	7.00 (2.40)	90.00 (9.87)	89.82 (11.48)

\* $p < .05$

represent two different groups of students rather than a single group of respondents over time. The two groups of participants also differed significantly in subjective SES. Students who completed measures during the second half of the semester reported significantly higher subjective SES ( $M=6.05$ ,  $SD=1.88$ ) than did students who completed measures during the first half of the semester ( $M=5.12$ ,  $SD=1.56$ ),  $t(94)=-2.636$ ,  $p<.05$ ,  $d=0.55$ .

### ***Relationships between anticipated benefits of internationalisation***

As a second step in analyses, we examined the relationship between measures of anticipated benefits of internationalisation. Overall, these measures were moderately and positively correlated with each other (see Table 2). Within this general summary, there were some noteworthy patterns. Consistent with expectations, both measures of global awareness – global identity ( $r=.20$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and perceptions of global inequality ( $r=.45$ ,  $p<.01$ ) – were positively related to diversity appreciation, and with each other ( $r=.22$ ,  $p<.05$ ). With respect to critical consciousness, global identity was also positively related to critical action ( $r=.35$ ,  $p<.01$ ), but perception of global inequality was positively related to critical reflection ( $r=.38$ ,  $p<.01$ ). The critical reflection (but not critical action) component of critical consciousness was positively related to diversity appreciation ( $r=.41$ ,  $p<.01$ ).

The critical reflection component of critical consciousness was also related to subjective SES ( $r=.21$ ,  $p<.01$ ). This is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it complicates interpretation of mean differences in the critical reflection component of critical consciousness, as it suggests that these differences may be a function of enduring differences in SES rather than something that occurred during the semester (including participation in the introductory psychology course). Regression analyses revealed high collinearity between SES and time of data collection, such that after controlling for one independent vari-

able, the other was no longer a significant predictor of critical reflection, and vice versa.

Second, one might expect that the firsthand experience of marginalisation associated with low SES would make people more aware of various forms of inequality and oppression. Instead, the observation that awareness of multiple forms of inequality and oppression is greater among high SES students suggests something about the quality of education available to people from low and high SES backgrounds. People from high SES settings may have greater access to forms of education, including practices of international travel and study abroad associated with ‘internationalisation’ of the curriculum, that promote critical reflection and denaturalisation (Adams et al, 2015) of apparently natural or taken-for-granted everyday realities.

The only negative relationships between indicators of anticipated benefits of internationalisation involved critical thinking, which was negatively related to both perception of global inequality ( $r=-.23$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and the critical action component of critical consciousness ( $r=-.23$ ,  $p<.05$ ). This is remarkable, as it suggests that the kinds of critical thinking that advocates anticipate as a benefit of internationalisation (i.e. akin to critical consciousness); are not necessarily compatible with the standard constructions of critical thinking (as evaluation of evidentiary claims) and quantitative literacy that inform design and assessment of undergraduate psychology instruction.

### ***Relationships with Academic Performance***

On average students’ self-reported expected grade ( $M=7.00$ ,  $SD=2.40$ ) was equivalent to a grade ‘B’. Participants also indicated that on average they attended 90 per cent of classes and completed 89.82 per cent of course assignments. There was little evidence that anticipated benefits of internationalisation were related to standard indicators of course performance (see Table 3). Diversity appreciation was the only measure of internationalisation related to course outcomes. Students



who scored higher on diversity appreciation were more likely to report that they expected a higher final grade (to perform better) in their introductory psychology course ( $r=.32$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

## **Discussion**

We conducted this investigation as a pilot study for an intervention to design, teach, and evaluate an internationalised version of an introductory psychology course. We identified anticipated beneficial outcomes of internationalisation, designed measures of these outcomes, and then administered these measures to different groups of students at the beginning and end of the semester. Results provide evidence for relationships between some of the anticipated benefits of internationalisation: particularly, global awareness, appreciation for diversity, and the socially engaged form of critical thinking that we referred to as critical consciousness. However, results provided little evidence of relationships between these anticipated outcomes of internationalisation and more conventional measures of academic performance. Indeed, there was even evidence of negative relationships between measures of internationalisation and our measure of the more standard or hegemonic construction of critical thinking as quantitative literacy.

Of course, our modest empirical exploration is not without limitations. For example, patterns of results for critical thinking may reflect not a null or negative relationship with anticipated benefits of internationalisation, but instead a need for improved conceptualisation and measurement. A different measure of critical thinking might yet reveal positive relationships with other anticipated outcomes of internationalisation.

Additionally, the majority of participants were freshman in their first semester of enrollment of classes, which makes it difficult to validate the self-reported anticipated grades. Indeed all three measures of academic performance (expected grades, class attendance, and completed assignments) were self-reported. This may partly

account for the weak relationships between these standard indicators of course performance and anticipated benefits of internationalisation. Future research designs can be strengthened by using more objective measures of course performance such as actual assigned grades.

A more important limitation is that, in this preliminary study, we did not implement any intervention to internationalise psychology instruction. Accordingly, one cannot interpret results as an indication of patterns that one would observe in the context of internationalisation. Although global awareness, appreciation for diversity, and critical consciousness do not necessarily coincide with strong course performance and critical thinking (as quantitative literacy) in the absence of an internationalisation intervention, the effect of internationalisation may be to provide the benefits of diversity education so that people apply their critical thinking skills to issues associated with critical consciousness about global inequality. In other words, one might observe synergistic increases in quantitative literacy, evidentiary practices, and critical consciousness as a result of an intervention to internationalise the curriculum, even though the relationship between these forms of critical thinking was somewhat antagonistic in the current study.

Despite these important limitations on interpretation of evidence, results of this exploratory investigation highlight important considerations for those of us who advocate internationalisation of the undergraduate psychology curriculum. One of the reasons why the current investigation was merely a pilot study is that instructors and administrators were not enthusiastic about our proposals for interventions to internationalise the introductory psychology course. Instructors of psychology understandably see their primary job as just that: to instruct students about psychology and maybe to promote forms of critical thinking associated with quantitative literacy. To the extent that internationalisation serves these

purposes, instructors are likely to be enthusiastic about the practice. However, if instructors and colleagues perceive that the sole purpose of internationalisation is to promote so-called 'political' outcomes such as global awareness, appreciation for diversity, and critical consciousness – rather than supposedly innocent or non-political, intellectual outcomes – then they are likely to object that the project lies outside the proper goals of a psychology course. This is especially the case in the current climate in the US, where critics charge that (social) psychology suffers from a left-leaning political bias (Duarte et al., 2015).

In response to such concerns, we note that attempts to insulate psychology instruction from learning objectives or outcomes related to internationalisation are not politically innocent, but instead are oriented toward preservation of a hegemonic status quo. Academic staff can play a crucial role in 'challenging dominant paradigms' to pave the way for internationalisation of the undergraduate curriculum (Leask, 2013). Indeed, implicit in many calls for internationalising the psychology curriculum is the idea that the omission of diverse, critical, global perspectives is anti-intellectual, unprofessional, and immoral (van de Vijver, 2013). Moreover, organisations such as the APA and the AAU increasingly propose the incorporation and measurement of broad learning objectives that encompass both intellectual and social growth as defining objectives of a university education. Internationalisation efforts position psychology as a primary site from which to achieve these learning objectives.

Even so, results of the present study raise doubts about any necessary connection between anticipated benefits of internationalisation and conventional understandings of academic success. The point of these doubts is not to question the value of the internationalisation project. Instead, we take these doubts as a signal about issues regarding conventional understandings and measures of academic success in hegemonic forms of undergraduate psychology instruction.

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The authors do not have sources of grant funding or conflicts of interest to disclose.

The authors acknowledge members of the Cultural Psychology Research Group (CPRG) at the University of Kansas for valuable input that helped to shape and refine the ideas in this article.

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## Appendix 1

### Brief Assessment of Critical Thinking

Blaine finds a study that reports a correlation of 0.15 between low SES and divorce. Blaine interprets the study as evidence that people in working-class lack family values.

A. Use a scale from 0 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree) to rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements about Blaine's interpretation.

1	The interpretation is reasonable; that is, the study suggests that people in working-class lack family values.
2	The interpretation is faulty because the correlation coefficient (0.15) is very low.
3	The interpretation is faulty because this is a correlational study, so one cannot conclude that low SES causes divorce.
4	The interpretation is faulty because of issues with construct validity: that is, one cannot use divorce rates as an indicator of low family values.
5	The interpretation is faulty because Blaine, as an outsider, is unqualified to speak about experience of the working class.
6	The interpretation is faulty because Blaine does not support it with specific examples of divorce and low family values in working class families.

B. \_\_\_\_ Fill the blank to indicate the item (1–6) that is the best reaction to Blaine's interpretation (i.e. – the item that you think is the strongest argument for or against it).

Casey criticises Blaine's interpretation by saying, I think the study is wrong – there is no link between low SES and divorce. I went to a high school with wealthy and upper middle-class families, and half of my friends came from homes where the parents divorced.

C. Use a scale from 0 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree) to rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements about Casey's critique.

1	The critique is reasonable; that is, the example from personal experience clearly demonstrates that there is no link between SES and divorce.
2	The critique is faulty because Casey relies on personal experiences, and one cannot generalise claims based on such anecdotal evidence.
3	The critique is faulty because Casey is not neutral; that is, Casey allows his/her identity position to inform interpretation of the evidence.

D. \_\_\_\_ Fill the blank to indicate the item (1–3) that is the best reaction to Casey's critique (i.e., the item that you think is the strongest argument for or against it).